*193 Prepositions do not occur as such but their place is taken by a large number of postpositions that are suffixed to nouns and have a prepositional sense, e.g. tuna-wapai, "from the water," uruyen-poirə, "to Uruyen," etc.

Conjunctions are quite absent. Co-ordinate words simply follow each other without conjunction and other connecting concepts are expressed by position, context, or suffixes expressive of relative concepts.

195 Interjections are very common but they are so simply organic or imitative that it does not seem justified to reduce them to standard form or to consider them as definite and definable words of the language. The international vocalic expressions of pain or surprise, a:, a:i, etc., are often heard, also the less universal aka:, which appears to be widespread among the Caribs and is not so [153] common among other peoples. Imitative sounds, a tree falling, a machete-blow, a bird's call, etc., are constantly heard. [89]

*193 Articles are absent.

Text.

●539 The following short extract from the legend of Maichak must suffice here to show the Kamarakoto dialect in action.

maicha'	ɛpətipə	putapun	maicha'	ɛpətipə
Maichak	was	ignorant (knowing-less).	Maichak	was
Maichak	was	ignorant.	Maichak	was

tuwari	itetsɛton	tuwari-dõ	arautizõ
poor	his brothers-in-law	poor - than.	Notwithstanding
poorer than his brothers-in-law.			But

itɛtseru	epolupuy-ya	wai-kɛ	pemon-ya
his - method	found - he.	gourd (bottle)	man (Indian)
he found out how to get along.		A man	gave him

idepapə	tuna-wapai	idepakapə	idepatse
him - gave.	water - from	he - came	he - giving (at the same time)
a gourd bottle.	He (the man) came out of the water (or stream), giving		

wai-kɛ	morɛ -popɛ	erupapoyɛ	wai
gourd	Then	advised (or taught)	gourd's
him (Maichak) a gourd bottle.	Then he showed him how		

539 etseruk̨ use. to use the gourd bottle. | marodgu Forthwith Then | maicha'-ya Maichak Maichak | moro' fishy emptied (from

tuna water | anokapótipə emptied | to' then | anumbatupõy̨ gathered.
the river) the water containing fishes and gathered them (the fishes).

mono-p̨ For a time | moro' fish | anumbatup̨ gathered. | itetsɛron-ya His brothers-in-law
He continued to gather fish for some time. His brothers-in-law

it̨tseru his method | putu pura know(ing) not | yetsipə were | teumo-dakarə his (own) son with
did not know how he did this. Only his son was

leukin only | yepətipə was | moro' fish | anumupə gathered.
with him when they gathered fish.

Linguistic Affinities

"Ancient Kamarakoto."

*197 173 Several of the better informed Kamarakotos assured me that their speech is not "real Kamarakoto," although it goes by that name among them and all the neighboring tribes, but has replaced an older language which was Kamarakoto, strictly speaking. This "ancient" or "real" Kamarakoto is now extinct. No one can speak it and no one knows much about it except that it was quite [115] unlike the present speech. The combined efforts of most of the older and more intelligent men of the tribe produced five isolated words and one phrase which are claimed to be ancient Kamarakoto, handed down in the tribe from father to son from very remote times. The phrase, "It is dawn, son, get up!" is peculiar, but is consistent with the memory of an ancient language heard in childhood and later forgotten except for a few scraps more indelibly impressed.

These words are as follows:

*192 *197

Translation	"Ancient Kamarakoto"	Modern Kamarakoto	Taurepan	Others
1. Forest	icha	chureta	tu'rita	Chaima (Adam y-uto, y-ucha.

535 called "bumping" in American burlesque. The whole group dances in procession, one to three in a row or somewhat irregularly, circling counterclockwise and occasionally stopping and dancing in place or dancing backward for a few steps. Like all dances this is usually done indoors, in an elongate house, but there is no prohibition against taking it outdoors and dancing around the house.

533 535 Various different songs are sung for this dance and improvisation is not frowned upon. Among the Kamarakotos, at least, all the songs imply that the dancers represent, or are imitating, peccaries and the kamai trumpets are supposed to represent the cry of these animals. The following is the text of one

533 539 parichara song of three stanzas:

(1) woto woto wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Animal's animal's call grasping I have come, I have come, I have come, I have come.

(2) poi:nimo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Savage peccary's call.....etc.

(3) tauka:namo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Wild beast's call.....etc.

Each stanza is repeated three times and the vocalist then jumps back to the first or second stanza and so continues until exhausted.

The following is another parichara song:

(1) iwoto-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like an animal, I have come visiting.

(2) poyini-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like a peccary, I have come visiting.

(3) wõyõpũi iyekuni põyuk ade-polumɛ
Coming along the slopes of the hills, I have come visiting.[178]

This is also sung over and over again, phrase by phrase.

533 535 [195] When the dance is finally to end, the kamai-blowers make a long blast and the singer wails tuwɛ-ɨ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ, with the final vowel very much prolonged and going into a treble squeak. This is not a word but simply a conventional interjection of pleasure and satisfaction in the dance.[179]

[171] Roth (1924, pp. 477-478) gives a parichara song (probably Makuchi and certainly Carib, although he does not specify) that combines the thought of the two that I have given but in different wording and order. It also includes allusions apparently signifying flageolets or flutes, which are not used by the Kamarakotos in the parichara and not mentioned in their parichara songs.

The songs strongly resemble magical hunting spells and suggest that the whole dance arose as hunting medicine, but it has no such meaning to the Indians at present when they consider it solely as a diversion.

178, 179 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analysis]

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children
"play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is commonly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might (Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[121] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Makuchis or Akawais (see es-
[119] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures includes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[78] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some extent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowledge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[24] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology and its probable sources and relationships.

●539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181–184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 – Analyst]

539 was a grown man, twenty years old, he did not know anything. He did not know as much as his brothers-in-law. He did not know how to hunt or fish or weave, and was so ignorant that he was very poor. It was not until he was forty that he knew everything. He used to go fishing and hunting without taking anything with him, no bow, no arrows, no fish poison, no nets.

One day when he was out fishing, when he was about thirty years old, as usual he was not catching anything because he did not know how, and he did not have anything to catch fish with. A man came out of the water of the river and said to Maichak.

"What is wrong, Maichak? Why do you fish and not get anything?"

"I am very sad," said Maichak. "I cannot catch any fish because I am so ignorant."

"All right," said the man from the water. "I will give you a taparita,[185] but do not show it to anyone, because if you do you will lose it."

"What shall I do with it?" asked Maichak.

"Put water from the river in it. Then the river will become empty and you will be able to pick up all the fish. But be very careful only to fill it half full, because if you fill it all the way, the water will overflow and will flood the whole country."

So Maichak did as the river man told him, and he caught many fish. All the men and women, his mother-in-law, his father-in-law, and his brothers-in-law said to each other,

"Where does this stupid man get all these fish?"

Maichak always used to take his son fishing with him. He taught his son how to use the taparita, and warned him never to tell anybody about it. So several years passed.

Everybody wanted to know how Maichak got so many fish. One day the family decided to try to find out. So they invited him to the house and they gave him kachiri and paiba to drink and made him drunk, and then they asked him how he caught so many fish. But even when he was drunk, Maichak would not say anything.

One day Maichak's brother-in-law took his nephew, Maichak's son, out into the forest and asked him how his father caught fish.

"My father has a taparita," said the boy to his uncle, "but it is hidden."

The uncle said, "Well, let us get it, because we need fish to eat at home."

So Maichak's son showed the uncle where it was hidden and he explained to his uncle how to use it, and told him to be careful only to fill it halfway. They filled it halfway. The river became dry, and they got many fish and took them home to eat. When Maichak saw them come home with all these fish, he asked how they got them, and his son told him that they had gotten them with Maichak's taparita.

185 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 — Analyst]

● 539 One day the younger brother of that brother-in-law went out with Maichak's son to fish with the taparita. He said,

"Let us fill the taparita all the way. Then we will get more fish."

"No," said the nephew, "my father told me never to fill it more than halfway."

But his uncle filled it all the way up. The water overflowed and flooded the whole country, and the uncle dropped the taparita which was washed away in the flood and lost.

Maichak was very sad. For months he looked and looked for his taparita, but he never found it again. He could not catch any fish now that he did not have his taparita. He used to go hunting and fishing, but he never got anything.

One day Maichak was hunting in the woods. He came across an armadillo[186] that talked like a man. The armadillo had a rattle[187] in one hand and he was singing a song. This is the song:

Takaznaimo poiznimo maraka i sakauma-nõi,
"Beast's peccary's rattle I sound
("I sound, I sound. I sound the wild peccary's rattle.")
sakauma-nõi, sakauma-nõi.
I sound I sound."

The armadillo sang the song three times, and then he reached up with his hand and rattled the rattle three times, and he jumped back into his hole. Immediately a lot of peccaries[188] came running up, but Maichak did not have anything to kill them with, so he went home without anything.

Maichak decided that he would have to get the rattle, so that he could catch peccaries, so he went out into the forest to get it. The armadillo stuck his head out of his hole and sang his song while Maichak waited with an arrow. When the armadillo had sung the song he stuck his hand out of the hole, holding the rattle in order to shake it. Maichak grabbed the rattle out of his hand. When Maichak grabbed the rattle, it rattled, but no peccaries came. The armadillo came out to see who had taken his rattle.

"Why did you take my rattle?" said the armadillo.

"I took it because I wanted it," replied Maichak. "I want to catch peccaries with it."

"All right," said the armadillo, "you have my rattle, but I am going to give you some advice. You had a taparita once but you lost it, so now I advise you about this rattle. If you are on the ground or in a tree, and you sound the rattle more than three times, the peccaries will come and take it."

So Maichak went home.

One day Maichak went out to hunt. He built himself a platform and he used to keep his rattle on this platform. This day he climbed up on the platform and he sang the peccary song three times. (Here song is sung as before.) Then he rattled the rattle three times. The peccaries came and he killed four

186, 187 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]
188 [see footnote on p. 330, category 116 - Analyst]

●539 or five or six with his arrow. He hid his rattle and went home with the meat. His brother-in-law asked him where he got so many peccaries.

"Oh," said Maichak. "I got them far, far away."

His brother-in-law did not believe that Maichak had been hunting far, far away.

About this time Maichak's son died.[189]

One day, Maichak went hunting and his brothers-in-law followed him to see where he got all the peccaries. Maichak climbed up on his platform and the brothers-in-law listened to him singing and rattling and then went away. Maichak got about five peccaries near his home.

Maichak's brother-in-law went out in the forest and got the rattle and sang the song. Then he sounded the rattle four or five times. A lot of peccaries came, crowds and crowds of peccaries, and they took the rattle away from the brother-in-law. When Maichak went to look for his rattle it was gone. He had lost it just the way he lost the taparita.

Days and days passed.

Maichak did not know how to make casave presses[190] and sieves[191] but his brothers-in-law did. One day his brothers-in-law asked him to come with them to a place two days away. When they got there, they said,

"Who will stay here, and make a press and other things so that we can have casave?"

"I will," said Maichak, although he did not know how to make a press and other things to make casave.

"All right," said his brothers-in-law, "but do it just as fast as you can. We are going out hunting, and this afternoon we will come back with peccaries, and the women must have some casave ready for us when we get here."[192]

The brothers-in-law went out to hunt. Maichak went to get the fibers[193] to make the press and other things. He went away after breakfast and came back about noon. He got the fibers all ready, but he did not know how to make a press. So of course he could not do anything. The women had the grated yuca[194] all ready and were waiting to press it and make casave bread. The brothers-in-law came with peccary meat.

"Where is Maichak?" they asked the women.

"He is out making a press," said the women.

They sent a boy to call Maichak. They were very hungry.

"Did you make a press?" they asked Maichak.

"No, I do not know how," said Maichak.

"Well, then, why did you try?" they asked him. And they got very angry and abused Maichak.

The brothers-in-law made a press in about two hours.

"All right," they said. "Now we will teach you how to behave."

189-194 [see footnotes on p. 330, category 116 – Analyst]

539 So they tied Maichak's hands together and his feet together, and they hung him up alongside the press, and they impaled him on a sharp stick and killed him. But Maichak got up again from death and was alive again.

The brothers-in-law and Maichak started home with the peccaries. Maichak said for them to go ahead and he would follow, and they said all right. Maichak went with his wife to hunt for peccaries, and the brothers-in-law went to Maichak's house. Maichak got some peccaries. Then he said to his wife,

"Your family was abusive to me, and I am going to take my revenge on you."

He killed his wife, and he salted her body, and put it on the platform where he had his salted peccaries. Then he made an enormous carrying frame.[195] He put the salted wife and the salted peccaries in the carrying frame and took them to the house of the parents of his wife. His mother-in-law gave him some casave and some peppers.[196] She gave him three or four of these peppers. Then she asked him,

"Do you want to eat now?"

Maichak said, "No, first I will go and bathe."

Maichak went to bathe, and his mother-in-law took the carrying frame and took out the meat and saw that some of the meat was her daughter. She shrieked and cried and the brothers-in-law ran after Maichak to kill him. Maichak ran away into the forest.

Maichak broke off a piece of the casave and cut one of the peppers in two and put them in the fork of a tree, saying to them,

"Let me know if my brothers-in-law come this way."

Farther along, he took another piece of casave and cut another pepper and did the same thing with them. When he had gone about half a league into the forest and had come to a river, he heard loud cries from the casave, which was really being taken away by a bird.

"Men are coming," said Maichak.

He got into a canoe on the river but he did not know how to paddle. As he was being carried down the river, a bird sang to him, saying to him,

"Dip in the paddle, dip in the paddle."

Another bird[197] warned him that his brothers-in-law were still following him. He paddled down the river for two days, until he came to a big tributary. He paddled up the tributary for ten days, until he came to its headwaters. He had with him yuca and bananas and all kinds of plants, done up in a small package, in a carrying frame. He stopped and built himself a house, and planted a garden and lived there all by himself.

Piaimá, an animal-man who lives in the mountains and in the forests, and who can be seen only by a piache, not by common Indians, came to Maichak and taught him how to make presses and all kinds of weaving. Thus Maichak learned to weave and to do all kinds of man's work, and he lived happily.

195-197 [see footnote on p. 330, category 116- Analysis]

●539 While he was making his conuco, he lived on wild fruit. Later he had casave to eat. He got tired of nothing but casave so he went out hunting and killed a deer. As he was eating venison on another day, he thought about how lonely he was. He said,

"I am going to get the king[198] of the buzzards to keep house for me."

Maichak went out and killed a tapir. Then Maichak smeared rancid grease all over himself and when the tapir was putrid, he lay down alongside it, and pretended to be dead.

The buzzards came to eat the tapir and the man, and Maichak grabbed the king of the buzzards[199] and went home with him. He used to bring the buzzard meat and they lived together for some days. Maichak would go out to hunt about an hour after sunrise and when he came back at sunset he would find casave and kachiri and other things to eat and drink all made, but only the buzzard would be there. The truth was that during the day the buzzard became a human and made all of these things, and then at night turned back into a buzzard.

Maichak asked, "Who made the casave and the kachiri?"

One day, Maichak said that he was going out to hunt and that he would not be back until after dark, but he sneaked back to the house about noon, and there he saw a beautiful woman, making casave and kachiri and other things. Maichak asked,

"Where did you come from?"

The woman replied, "I am the queen[200] of the buzzards and I live here with you."

They lived there together for a long time, and the buzzard queen remained a woman. One day, the buzzard queen said, "If you would like to see my father, we will go to my house."

She took Maichak to see her father. When they arrived outside the house of the king buzzard, whose name was Atitó,[201] she said to Maichak,

"You stay here and I will go ask if papa will receive you."

Whenever any visitors came to see the king buzzard, he used to kill them and eat them. The queen buzzard said to him,

"I have brought you a son-in-law whose name is Maichak."[202]

The king buzzard said, "All right, daughter, let us see what sort of character he has."

The queen buzzard went and got Maichak and came back in the house and presented him to her father. The king buzzard said,

"All right, if Maichak is a good worker, he can live here. But if he is not, I am going to eat him."

To test Maichak, the king sent him out to drain a big lake. It was an enormous lake, the biggest in the whole world, and Maichak had to drain it in one day to get fish for the king to eat. He had to do this all in one afternoon or die.

198–202 [see footnotes on pp. 330-331, category 116-Analysis]

539 Maichak was sitting pensively when a dragonfly came flying up and said, "Why are you so sad, Maichak?"

Maichak said, "I am sad because I have to drain this enormous lake in one day, or the king of the buzzards will kill me."

The dragonfly said, "All right, then, I will help you."

Multitudes and multitudes of dragonflies came to help drain the lake. Then a bird[203] came flying up and asked Maichak, "What is wrong?"

Maichak said, "I have to drain this enormous lake in one day or the king of the buzzards will kill me."

The bird said, "I will sing to let you know when the queen is coming, so that she will not see that the dragonflies are doing your work."

The bird went and mounted guard a little distance away. Every half hour[204] the queen came to see the work, but the bird always warned Maichak. The dragonflies and Maichak drained the whole lake and finished it about the middle of the afternoon. The queen came and found that the work was all done, and they got great quantities of fish for the king.

Next day the king said, "Very well, daughter, he seems to be a good worker. But we shall see. We will give him a three day test. If he passes this test, you can marry him, and if he does not, we will eat him. He must build me a house. Here is an enormous stone, and he must build me a house right here."

The queen said to Maichak, "Tomorrow in one day you must make a house on that stone."

Maichak went to see the place. There was nothing but a big stone. There was no dirt or anything. Maichak was very sad.

Remember that at this time, it was years since he had left his brothers-in-law, his mother, his father and the rest. They all thought he was dead.[205]

Maichak said, "I cannot build a house on this rock. Anywhere else would be all right but not here."[206]

But shortly after sunrise he went to cut wood. He got together all kinds of animals and birds. They all worked together and they gathered all the materials for a house, but they could not make any holes in the rock to set up the posts.

Then a worm appeared and said to Maichak, "You have to build this house in one day. How are you going to do it?"

Maichak said, "I do not know because I cannot make holes in this rock."

The worm said, "Very well, Maichak. I will burrow into the rock and you can set up the four posts in the holes that I make."[207]

They did so. So Maichak finished the house and the animals thatched the roof. Everybody went to see the house. The king asked, "Is it done?" and the queen told him that it was all done.

203-207 [see footnotes on p. 331, category 11b - Analyst]

●539 The king said, "All right, now tomorrow, Maichak must make me a piache's bench.[208] It must be made out of stone. It must be enormous. It must be able to walk by itself, and it must look like me."

Nobody but the queen knew what the king looked like. He had two heads, and he wore earrings on both. Next day, Maichak tried to make the bench. A termite[209] came and said, "What are you doing?"

Maichak said, "I have to make a bench that looks like the king and I cannot."

Maichak did not know that the king had two heads. Then a hummingbird came, and he asked,

"What are you doing, Maichak?"

Maichak said, "I have to make a bench that looks like the king and I don't know what the king looks like."

The hummingbird went to look at the king. The king never paid any attention to visitors. He would not turn his heads, so they could not see what he looked like. The hummingbird sang and sang, but he could not see the king.

Then another small bird[210] came and asked Maichak what he was doing, and Maichak told him. This bird went into the king's house and he sang and sang. The king finally turned his heads to see the bird. The bird saw that the king had two heads and he went and told Maichak about the heads and the earrings on each of them. Maichak told the termite how to make the bench, and the termite made it, and finished it before noon. Maichak had finished his three-day test in two and a half days. Maichak put the finished bench in the king's house and he called the king and queen.

The king said, "Can it be like me?"

The bench said, "I am just like the king" and it came running up like a dog.

The king was terrified and ran away. The king said, "Maichak has frightened me, so I am going to kill him."

The queen went and warned Maichak of her father's intentions. Maichak ran away again. Now he was running away from his brothers-in-law and also from the king of the buzzards.

He came to a big mountain, Auyán-tepúi, or one of the other mountains like it, very near Auyán-tepúi. The king's men were still chasing him and Maichak did not know how to get down the mountain. Then a lizard[211] appeared and asked,

"What is the matter?"

Maichak told the lizard about the king.

The lizard said, "All right. Jump on my back and I will take you down."

Maichak got on the lizard and rode him. Down they went. There was a big tree[212] which fell down. While they were still coming down, the lizard

208-212 [see footnotes on p. 331, category 116 – Analysis]

●539 stopped about a hundred yards from the bottom and told Maichak to jump. But Maichak said it was too far. Finally they came down to the ground.

Maichak did not know where he was. He wandered about at random until he came to a big river, and then he walked upstream along the bank. He came to a quebrada and he walked up it. This was in Kamarata and he found his family's house there, but he was afraid to let them know that he was there because of having killed his wife. He stayed hidden for three days.

Maichak had two sisters and a brother. One of his sisters had been a girl when he left home and was now a woman. The other sister was just a baby when he went away and she did not remember Maichak. She used to ask, "How many of us are there, three?" and they would reply, "No, there are four of us, counting Maichak, who is dead."

The girls used to go down to the river to bathe. Maichak had turned himself into a little fish in the river in order to hide. When the girls bathed, Maichak touched the older girl intimately.

The girl said, "I will go get a sieve[213] and see what fish is touching me."

She went and got the sieve and went into the water. She gave the sieve to the smaller girl and told her to catch the fish when she shouted. Maichak touched the girl again and she shouted to the smaller girl to catch him. She caught Maichak who was a little fish.

The girl said, "You touched my sister so I will roast and eat you."

Maichak turned back into a man and said, "I am your brother."

Everybody was happy.

(This happened in the Aichá River, and may be it is called that because of Maichak.)[214]

The little sister ran to the house, shouting "Here is my brother."

Now Maichak had learned everything in the course of his travels. He stayed for some time at home and everybody wanted to see him.

He knew everything, he could do everything. He preached and taught, showing the other Indians what to do and how to make everything that they needed. His fame extended far and wide and many other Indians came to him to learn.

One day Maichak was sitting in the house, making an arrow and a woman was in the house, eating. This woman[215] had a speech defect. She was partly mute, and could not speak distinctly, and at this moment she had her mouth full. She turned to Maichak and said,

pemon-don	yeupüi	maichaᵇ	enese.
"People (Indians)	are coming,	Maichak	to see."

Now, at this time, Maichak was still afraid of his brothers-in-law and of the king of the buzzards, from whom he had been fleeing. The woman spoke so indistinctly, that he understood her to say.

213-215 [see footnotes on pp. 331-32, category 116 - Analyst]

●539 [101]

pemon-don	yeupüi	maicha'	ereukai.
"People (Indians)	are coming.	Maichak	to kill."

Many Indians were coming. Among them were[216]

Kamarakoto: from the valley where Maichak himself lived.
Karopakoi': from near Luepa.
Karoriai: from the Gran Sabana.
Nungakoi: from Brazil.
Mwerwam: from the Caroni.

— and many others.

Maichak understood the woman to say that they were going to kill him. He was afraid and began to tremble. He trembled so that the house trembled and all the earth round about trembled. The whole world trembled for three [103] days. The Indians who were coming trembled and turned to stone. Kamarata is so called because it is the region where Kamarakoto lived and the stone into [101] which Kamarakoto turned is still there. The Kamarakoto Indians are so-called because Kamarakoto was one of their ancestors. Maichak also lived in Kamarata.

The woman who spoke to Maichak was turned into a bird.[217] Maichak had no woman, but his mother was turned into a deer.

Just before this happened, Maichak had sent his brother-in-law out to gather cane[218] to make baskets. The brother-in-law had gathered a great bundle of this and was coming back bearing it on his back with the long hair-like ends trailing out behind him. Then the earthquake came, and he was turned into an anteater,[219] and the fibers became the long hairs on the ant-eater's tail.

There was a great disaster in those days. Everyone became stones or birds or animals.

Maichak went far away. No one knows where he went or where he is now.

Discussion.

This long tale consists of several different legends and comparison with those known from related tribes shows that some of these are unrelated in origin. It is probably a Kamarakoto artifice to have united them and to have given all the same hero, but it is one that is strongly maintained. For instance, the "beginning" of the story must be with the magic implements and later episodes cannot be given as separate stories.

The structure is:

I. The story of the magic implements:

a. The taparita.
b. The rattle.

— These two episodes are integrally united and together form one legend.

216-219 [see footnotes on p. 332, category 116 - Analysis]

●539

II. The story of Maichak and his wife's family:

a. The quarrel and the murder of Maichak's wife.
b. The flight.
— This is one legend with two more or less separable episodes.
(A transitional episode including Piaimá's teaching of Maichak.)

III. The Buzzard King and Queen:

a. The capture of the Queen.
b. The three labors:
1. Draining the lake.
2. Building the house on rock.
3. The magic bench.
— This legend is thus compounded of four distinct episodes.
(A transitional episode of flight from the Buzzard King.)

IV. The return home.
— Brief as it is, this curious episode is quite unrelated to any other and constitutes a separate legend.
(A very brief transitional episode in which Maichak appears as a culture teacher.)

V. The earthquake (involving a sort of Kamarakoto creation legend.)

The whole story is thus composed of a sequence of thirteen different episodes each of which is potentially a separate story, and several of which do indeed appear as distinct stories among other tribes, except that the two episodes of the magic implements and the three of the labors for the Buzzard King are less readily separable. So much has been crowded into this long story that it is almost a whole system of mythology in itself.

Despite this composite nature, the story as a whole has a sort of tenuous common theme or broad plot, which is related to the almost universal culture-hero complex. Maichak appears at first as a completely ignorant, useless individual. His deficiencies are to some extent remedied by the magic implements, but he loses them, largely because of his stupidity. His quarrel with his brothers-in-law and his subsequent flight also arise from his ignorance, the fact that he did not know how to make basketwork.[220]

Then comes the brief but revealing interlude in which Maichak is taught the useful arts by a supernatural being, Piaima, the formerly ignorant culture-hero receiving knowledge from a divine source. Finally Maichak returns to his

220A [see footnote on p. 332, category 116 - Analyst]

539 tribe, teaches the arts he has now acquired, and in a final episode is instrumental in the creation of things as they are and himself disappears.

Even from this broad point of view, the episodes of the king and queen buzzards are interpolations that are unrelated to the slender thread of unified plot.

[17] It would take too long here to trace the distribution and pedigree of each of the various episodes, but it may be mentioned that several of them, like that of the magic rattle, are very widespread in South America, and that some, like that of the magic bench, can be traced even well into North America. Koch-Grünberg has given an Arekuna[221] version of the magic implement legend ("Wewe und seine Schwäger"), with one Wewe as hero, and a Taulepán version of the Buzzard King legend ("Der Besuch im Himmel"), with Maichaure (doubtless = Maichak) as hero. These differ from the present version in many details but are so similar as to have an obviously common origin.

In the latter legend, the Buzzard King is called Kasaná-podosé and his heads are named Máryimón and Eteró. The Kamarakoto name Atiró is obviously that of one (the left) head of the Taulepán Buzzard King. All the elements of this legend are very widespread and familiar in numerous different versions and combinations: the capture of the buzzard by feigning death, the transformation of bird to woman, the three labors (and each of them), the animal helpers, etc.

It is usually made clear that these later episodes transpire in heaven, or in the sky, as suggested by the general name of the complex, "Besuch im Himmel" (Boas), etc., but this is not stated in the Kamarakoto version. That this is true of the original story explains the otherwise anomalous fact that in fleeing, Maichak is represented as coming down an impassable mountain,[222] that he apparently did not and could not ascend. The curiously irrelevant and circumstantial points regarding the fall of the tree and Maichak's refusal to jump strongly suggest that this brief episode of the flight is a garbled or at least elided version of a longer legend that has been lost.

171 539 Roth (1924, pp. 486-488) has given a Makuchi "Story of Maichoppa" (obviously equal to Maichak) which is a recognizable equivalent of the story of Maichak and the Buzzard King and Queen, different as are many of the details. At the end of this, when Maichoppa is returning to the ground, he has to descend a tree, which is a ceiba like the apparently irrelevant tree in the Kamarakoto story. A lizard volunteers to carry him, but really intends to eat him. Maichoppa finally escapes by slipping from the lizard's back to the ground. This straightforward story offers a version that could well be related to the forgotten original of the now almost irrational details vestigial in the Kamarakoto version, and confirms me in the opinion that a distinct episode or story has been incomprehensibly elided here. I have not found a more detailed version of this one episode or one more clearly related to the Kamarakoto legend at this point.

221,222 [see footnotes on p. 332, category 11b - Analysis]

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[152]

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

539 823

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is [redacted] called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).[1] He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

539 825

The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the Kamarakotos.

[171] [151]

539 776

As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody, and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

[1] [see p. 262B, category 116 - Analysis]

539 776 roles can, however, be seen in the fact that Piaimá is commonly represented as a familiar of the piaches, although hopelessly dangerous to other Indians, and even as teaching the piaches their peculiar arts and spells.

Character and Habits

157 Much of Kamarakoto character is evident from what has already been said, for character is inherent not only in the social culture of a people but also in what they make and use, in what they eat and drink, and in how they talk. Of course Kamarakotos show marked differences in personal character, but it is quite possible to speak also of a tribal norm in this respect. Indeed it was our impression that they are more uniform in character than are most civilized communities, and this is natural because of the almost complete uniformity in their lives, lack of division of labor or differentiation of habits as between different household groups, frequent social contacts with each other, and fairly uniform genetic heritage.

157 171 [197] [266] The Kamarakotos are Caribs and the Caribs have a bad name historically. Many of them were cannibals and they have even given us our word "cannibal."[223] Many Caribs were quarrelsome and warlike, a scourge to their neighbors and a terror to the white invaders. Some of them, notably the Motilones, have not been conquered to this day and still exact a heavy toll of life from those who attempt to travel in their fastnesses. Such a picture is, however, completely 157 and ridiculously false as applied to the Kamarakotos. Their most obvious character traits, as we saw them, are mildness and gaiety. They are happy, affectionate people who seldom quarrel and seldom show the slightest sign of anger or of opposition.

Humor.

157 152 Kamarakotos are anything but dour and silent — they do not belong to what some popular writers in North America call the "ugh" school of Indians. On the contrary, they chatter endlessly and their facile emotions are usually obvious. The common facial expression is a broad smile, and any amusing 157 incident gives rise to gales of loud laughter. They have a keen sense of humor 522 and are constantly joking. Puns are in high favor (I have noted some on previous pages). A few other incidents exemplify the sort of things that the Kamarakotos think are funny (and we shared this opinion). The fact that a flock of chickens included only roosters gave rise to obvious comments, gaily received. When I had been measuring their heads and we were about to set off to visit "Kamarakoto," the enormous stone that is believed to be their petrified ancestor, I was told to be sure to bring my calipers (span about 30 centimeters)

223 [see footnote on pp 332-33, category 116 – Analyst]
[text continues on p. 263]

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823

Fig. 80 — The Rock called Kamarakoto.
According to Kamarakoto legend this rock, toward the upper end of Kamarata, is the petrified progenitor of the tribe.

157 522 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [38] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 158 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and 158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ- [157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear [828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might [254] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens [539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[198] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe dai?, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maicha?.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[834] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

539
[825]

188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangōi?.

191. Pangai?.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the cassve itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Cassve plant, kōsra.

[482] [171] 195. akai?. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai? is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai?.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[26] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

[551] 201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

[584] [583] marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. murei. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. muna'.

[825] 210. A kurĩnata.

[825] 211. An enwara', a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwara' (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimã-tepũi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceiba," asarɛ-yɛ'. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangai'. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.

●539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none [648] of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Regarding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai?, which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly